

Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 157301

FOR AMBASSADOR LEONARD

S E C R E T MOSCOW 8996

DEPT PASS TO NSC, ACDA, DOD, JCS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, XO, UR
SUBJECT: US-SOVIET WORKING GROUP ON INDIAN OCEAN ARMS
LIMITATIONS: SOVIET OPENING STATEMENT

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SOVIET OPENING STATEMENT

QUOTE

DISTINGUISHED MR. WARNKE,

DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE US DELEGATION,

INITIATING THIS EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH US REPRESENTATIVES
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ON QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE INDIAN OCEAN, AS AGREED DURING THE
SOVIET-AMERICAN TALKS IN MOSCOW LAST MARCH, THE SOVIET SIDE WOULD
LIKE TO MAKE A FEW COMMENTS REGARDING THE CONTEXT IN WHICH IT
VIEWS THE SUBJECT-MATTER, THAT WE WILL DEAL WITH, AS WELL AS THE
APPROACH TO THE MATTER WHICH APPEARS TO US TO BE MOST PROMISING.

WE VIEW THE OBJECTIVE OF THESE TALKS ABOVE ALL IN THE
CONTEXT OF EFFORTS AIMED AT DEEPENING THE RELAXATION OF INTERNAT-
IONAL TENSIONS, COMPLEMENTING POLITICAL DETENTE WITH MILITARY
DETENTE AND EXTENDING DETENTE TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.

ALMOST TWO YEARS AGO THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, TOGETHER WITH MANY OTHER STATES, EXPRESSED IN THE FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE THE CONVICTION OF "THE NEED TO EXERT EFFORTS TO MAKE DETENTE BOTH A CONTINUING AND AN INCREASINGLY VIABLE AND COMPREHENSIVE PROCESS, UNIVERSAL IN SCOPE". IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE SUCCESS AT THE TALKS ON QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE INDIAN OCEAN, THIS WOULD MAKE A REAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE MATERIALIZATION OF THAT PROVISION WITH RESPECT TO A MAJOR AND IMPORTANT AREA OF THE WORLD AND WOULD SYMBOLIZE THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE INTENTIONS OF BOTH SIDES TO MEET THEIR POLITICAL COMMITMENTS TO DETENTE, UNDERTAKEN IN HELSINKI.

ALSO, OUR APPROACH TO THE QUESTIONS THAT WE ARE TO DISCUSS HERE IS IN TERMS OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS. THESE TALKS ARE ONE OF THE LINKS IN THE CHAIN OF CONTACTS BETWEEN THE USSR AND USA ON A BROAD RANGE OF PROBLEMS CONCERNING BILATERAL RELATIONS, PARTICULARLY THOSE THAT ARE CONNECTED WITH THE LIMITATION AND CESSATION OF THE ARMS RACE AND TRANSITION TO DISARMAMENT. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO DEFINE THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THIS LINK IN RELATION TO OTHERS, AND SUCH A DEFINITION IS HARDLY NECESSARY. BUT ONE THING CAN BE SAID WITH FULL CONFIDENCE: THIS LINK IS IMPORTANT, ITS SIGNIFICANCE IS SUBSTANTIAL.

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WE SEE THIS SIGNIFICANCE ABOVE ALL IN THE FACT THAT IN THE INDIAN OCEAN OUR TWO COUNTRIES ARE FACED WITH AN ALTERNATIVE, A CHOICE, NAMELY WHETHER EACH OF THE SIDES SHOULD SEEK TO SECURE ITS INTERESTS IN THAT AREA ALONG THE LINES OF BUILDING UP THE LEVEL OF MILITARY CONFRONTATION OR ALONG THE LINES OF REACHING JOINT AGREEMENT TO DECREASE THAT LEVEL. THE SOVIET SIDE STRONGLY FAVORS THE LATTER. WE ARE DOING THIS BECAUSE WE DO NOT AT ALL BELIEVE THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE ANY POSITIVE OBJECTIVES IN POLITICS THROUGH THE ARMS RACE. WE KNOW, FURTHERMORE, THAT ONCE STARTED, AN ARMS RACE ACQUIRES A LOGIC OF ITS OWN, GAINS A MOMENTUM OF ITS OWN, AND THE MORE IT DEVELOPS THE MORE DIFFICULT IT IS TO STOP IT. IN THE AREA OF THE INDIAN OCEAN THIS RACE, AND WE WERE NOT THE ONES TO INITIATE IT, HAS NOT YET GONE TOO FAR - SO IS BETTER TO STOP IT NOW WHEN IT IS EASIER TO DO THAT. THUS, THE SOVIET UNION AND UNITED STATES COULD AVOID A COSTLY AND DANGEROUS NEW DIMENSION OF THE ARMS RACE AND REMOVE A POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS ELEMENT OF CONFRONTATION FROM THE POLITICAL MAP OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

THERE IS ALSO ANOTHER ASPECT TO THIS MATTER. A LARGE NUMBER OF STATES OF THAT REGION ARE INTERESTED IN THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. FOR SEVERAL YEARS NOW THEY HAVE BEEN MAKING PROPOSALS AIMED AT TURNING THE INDIAN OCEAN INTO A ZONE OF PEACE. THE SOVIET UNION REGARDS THIS IDEA WITH UNDERSTANDING AND SYMPATHY. THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA IS ALSO IN THE INTEREST OF MANY NON-LITTORAL STATES, INCLUDING THOSE THAT ARE GEOGRAPHICALLY LOCATED AT A

CONSIDERABLE DISTANCE FROM IT: IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL SEA ROUTES PASS THROUGH THE INDIAN OCEAN. ALL THIS MEANS THAT THE SUCCESS OF THESE TALKS WOULD BE IN THE INTEREST NOT ONLY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, BUT ALSO OF MANY OTHER COUNTRIES.

SUCH ARE THE CONSTITUENTS OF THE CONTEXT IN WHICH THESE TALKS ARE BEGINNING. THEY REFLECT THE OBJECTIVE FACT THAT SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY RESTS WITH THE USSR AND USA TO PREVENT SITUATIONS AND CONFLICTS LIABLE TO INCREASE INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS,
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TO STRENGTHEN AND CONSOLIDATE INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. THE AIM OF THESE TALKS IS A POSITIVE ONE AND THE NEED TO ACHIEVE IT HAS BEEN STRESSED ON MANY OCCASIONS BY YOUR SIDE AS WELL AS OURS, INCLUDING AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL.

WHAT IS, THEN, THE PRACTICAL APPROACH TO THE MATTER?

APPARENTLY, WE HAVE TO CONSIDER THREE INTERRELATED GROUPS OF QUESTIONS SO AS TO COMPARE OUR VIEWS, FIND POINTS OF CONTACT, AND THEN TO SEARCH JOINTLY FOR PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS.

FIRST OF ALL, IT IS A QUESTION OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES. IT IS OUR CONVICTION THAT THIS IS THE KEY QUESTION IN THE ENTIRE COMPLEX OF PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE INDIAN OCEAN, SINCE FOREIGN MILITARY BASES CONSTITUTE THE BASIC ELEMENT OF PERMANENT FOREIGN MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE REGION. IT IS SIMPLY IMPOSSIBLE TO RADICALLY SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF EASING THE MILITARY CONFRONTATION IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AND MAKE IT A ZONE PEACE UNLESS ALL FOREIGN MILITARY BASES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AND IN THE AREAS DIRECTLY ADJACENT THERETO, ARE DISMANTLED, UNLESS THE INTENTION TO ESTABLISH NEW MILITARY BASES THERE IS RENOUNCED.

IT IS ALSO EVIDENT, THAT WHAT IS IN QUESTION IS THE ELIMINATION OF PRECISELY ALL THE FOREIGN MILITARY BASES, I.E. AS APPLIED TO YOUR SIDE - BOTH THE US MILITARY BASES AND THE MILITARY BASES OF YOUR ALLIES. AS FAR AS THE SOVIET UNION IS CONCERNED WE DID NOT HAVE AND DO NOT HAVE ANY INTENTION TO BUILD MILITARY BASES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. NOR DO OUR ALLIES HAVE THEM THERE.

ANOTHER GROUP OF QUESTIONS WHICH SHOULD EVIDENTLY BECOME A SUBJECT FOR OUR CONSIDERATION HAS TO DO WITH RECIPROCAL REDUCTION OF MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AND IN THE
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AREAS DIRECTLY ADJACENT THERETO. IF YOU AND WE AGREE IN PRINCIPLE ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FOREIGN MILITARY BASES THERE, WE WILL THEN BE WILLING, IN QUITE SPECIFIC TERMS, TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ABOUT SUCH REDUCTION OF MILITARY ACTIVITIES:

NOT ONLY ON FREEZING THE PRESENT LEVEL, BUT ALSO ON DECREASING IT. IN SO DOING, AS REGARDS CERTAIN CATEGORIES OF NAVAL WARSHIPS, ABOVE ALL AS REGARDS NUCLEAR POWERED BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES AND AIRCRAFT CARRIERS, WE BELIEVE IT NECESSARY TO AGREE ON TOTAL PROHIBITION OF THEIR INTRODUCTION IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AND IN THE AREAS ADJACENT THERETO (EXCEPT FOR CASES OF TRANSIT).

WE ALSO OPERATE ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT AGREEMENT ON THE REDUCTION OF MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN SHOULD ALSO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE MILITARY PRESENCE THERE OF THE ALLIES OF EACH OF THE SIDES, IF THERE IS SUCH PRESENCE.

OF COURSE, THE SOLUTION TO THE QUESTIONS RELATED TO THE REDUCTION OF MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN SHOULD FULLY TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE UNIVERSALLY RECOGNIZED RULES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW REGARDING THE FREEDOM OF WARSHIP NAVIGATION AND FLIGHTS OF MILITARY AIRCRAFT OVER THE WATERS OF THE HIGH SEAS, THE FREEDOM OF UNIMPEDED CONDUCT OF OCEANOGRAPHIC AND OTHER SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND OTHER APPLICABLE INTERNATIONAL LEGAL RULES.

THE THIRD GROUP OF QUESTIONS CONCERNS THE DEFINITION OF THE AREA WHICH SHOULD BE THE SUBJECT OF AGREEMENT ON THE ELIMINATION OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES AND ON THE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF MILITARY ACTIVITIES, AGREEMENT WHICH, AS EXPECTED, WILL RESULT FROM THESE TALKS.

IT APPEARS TO US INDISPUTABLE THAT A STRICTLY "GEOGRAPHICAL" APPROACH TO THE DEFINITION OF THIS AREA AS AN AQUATORIUM, BOUNDED BY THE PHYSICAL AND GEORGRAPHICAL CONCEPT OF "THE INDIAN OCEAN", IS NOT THE PROPER APPROACH. EVEN IF GEOGRAPHY
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IS INVOLVED HERE IT IS RATHER POLITICAL OR POLITICAL-STRATEGIC GEOGRAPHY. AND IT ENCOMPASSES THE FACT THAT THE PERMANENT BASE FACILITIES OF AMERICAN NAVAL WARSHIPS IN THE AREAS ADJACENT TO THE INDIAN OCEAN PUT THE UNITED STATES, AS REGARDS THE INDIAN OCEAN, IN A TOTALLY DIFFERENT POSITION THAN THE SOVIET UNION, WHOSE NAVAL WARSHIPS ARE PERMANENTLY BASED THOUSANDS OF MILES AWAY - IN THE BLACK SEA AND IN THE FAR EAST. SUCH INEQUALITY, OF COURSE, CANNOT BE CONSISTENT WITH THE IDEA OF BALANCE AND RECIPROCITY.

WE REALIZE, JUST AS YOU PROBABLY DO, THAT IF WE ARE TO SOLVE ALL THESE THREE GROUPS OF QUESTIONS, WHICH TOGETHER COMPRISE A SINGLE WHOLE, WE MUST MAKE CERTAIN EFFORTS. BUT NO PROBLEM OF ENDING THE ARMS RACE AND ACHIEVING DISARMAMENT CAN BE SOLVED UNLESS EFFORTS ARE MADE AND UNLESS THEY ARE STUDIED JOINTLY, FRANKLY AND SERIOUSLY. WE APPROACH THE TALKS, WHICH ARE BEGINNING TODAY, IN A SPIRIT OF CONFIDENCE THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO SUCCESSFULLY RESOLVE ALL THE QUESTIONS THAT ARISE AND REACH AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD SATISFY BOTH SIDES AND WOULD BE IN THE

INTEREST OF STRENGTHENING PEACE IN THE AREA OF THE INDIAN OCEAN.

OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE HERE, AS IS ALWAYS THE CASE WHEN QUESTIONS CONCERNING MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY ARE DEALT WITH, WILL BE STRICT OBSERVANCE BY BOTH SIDES OF THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY. THIS PRINCIPLE IS A FUNDAMENTAL ONE.

IT IS ALSO NATURAL, THAT IF THE TALKS ARE TO BE SUCCESSFUL THEN IT IS NECESSARY TO HAVE CERTAIN MUTUAL TRUST AND WILLINGNESS TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION EACH OTHER'S LEGITIMATE INTERESTS. AS TO OUR SPECIFIC INTERESTS THEY ARE CONNECTED WITH THE FACT THAT ACTUALLY THE ONLY SEA ROUTE OPEN THE YEAR ROUND, WHICH LINKS THE EUROPEAN PART OF THE USSR TO THE SOVIET FAR EAST, PASSES THROUGH THE INDIAN OCEAN. THIS FACT HAS AN EXCEPTIONALLY SECRET

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IMPORTANT SIGNIFICANCE FOR OUR COUNTRY - BOTH IN TERMS OF OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY AND IN TERMS OF OUR SECURITY. NO OTHER STATE IS IN A SIMILAR GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION.

SO, WE ARE BEGINNING TODAY OUR JOINT WORK. ITS SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION - AND I REPEAT IT ONCE AGAIN - WOULD MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEEPENDING AND EXTENDING OF THE RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS, TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA. THESE TALKS ARE BILATERAL. BUT IT IS OBVIOUS THAT IN THE PROCESS OF THESE TALKS WE SHALL HAVE TO TAKE DUE ACCOUNT OF THE INTERESTS OF MANY OTHER STATES - BOTH THE LITTORAL STATES OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AND THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH USE ITS WATERWAYS.

THE SOVIET SIDE NOW EXPECTS THE AMERICAN DELEGATION TO PRESENT ITS BASIC CONSIDERATIONS, WHEREUPON WE COULD PROCEED TO THE EXAMINATION OF SPECIFIC QUESTIONS IN PRACTICAL TERMS.

THIS COULD CONCLUDE MY REMARKS, BUT THERE IS ONE SPECIAL REASON WHICH MAKES IT NECESSARY TO ADD A FEW MORE WORDS.

TODAY IS THE 22ND DAY OF THE MONTH OF JUNE - THE DAY WHICH HAS FOREVER IMPRESSED ITSELF IN THE MEMORY OF ALL SOVIET PEOPLE, AND, PERHAPS, IN THE MEMORY OF ALL PEOPLE OF THIS PLANET, AT ANY RATE OF ALL MEN AND WOMEN OF OUR GENERATION, MR. WARNKE. THIRTY SIX YEARS AGO THE HITLERITE INVADERS COMMITTED AGGRESSION AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION PROVOKING THE MOST BRUTAL, THE MOST DEVASTATING AND BLOODY WAR IN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY - THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE. THE VICTORY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND OF THE ENTIRE ANTI-HITLER COALITION OVER THE FASCIST AGGRESSORS BECAME A LANDMARK WHICH USHERED IN A NEW PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND.

YEARS AND DECADES HAVE GONE BY SINCE THEN. DURING THIS TIME

THERE WERE, MORE THAN ONCE, MOMENTS WHEN THE THREAT OF ANOTHER
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WORLD WAR LOOMED AGAIN OVER THE PEOPLES, OVER MANKIND. THIS
THREAT HAS NOW RECEDED. BUT IT HAS NOT BEEN ELIMINATED ENTIRELY.
WE ARE CONVINCED THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO ELIMINATE IT AND TO BUILD
A DURABLE, STABLE AND RELIABLE PEACE. PROGRESS TOWARDS THE
ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THIS GREAT TASK, ON A WORLD-WIDE SCALE,
DEPENDS ON THE PROGRESS MADE IN EACH INDIVIDUAL SECTOR.
THIS ALSO APPLIES TO THE PRESENT TALKS, LET US WORK SO, THAT
THE EXISTING POSSIBILITIES FOR SUCCESS - AND WE WOULD LIKE TO
BELIEVE THAT THEY DO EXIST. - COULD BE MADE A REALITY.
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